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ABSTRACT

This report is concerned with racial segregation or integration of both teachers and students in the public schools of Missouri during the period 1954 to 1964. The information was collected by questionnaires, and the data analyzed by the University of Missouri researchers. In the beginning of the report, a brief introductory history of the black population is presented. The results of the study show that discrimination against black teachers is higher than against black students; also that between 1954 to 1964, there has been a decrease in the proportion of Missouri school systems hiring black teachers. This decrease in primarily rural areas suggests that as a result of school desegregation, black teachers' work opportunity has decreased. (Author/JW)

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A STUDY OF THE CHANGES IN NUMBERS OF NEGRO TEACHERS AND STUDENTS IN THE VARIOUS PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI

Cooperative Research Project No. OE 6-10-250

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RACIAL SEGREGATION OF TEACHERS IN THE SCHOOLS OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI: 1954-1964

This report is concerned with racial segregation or integration of both teachers and students in the public schools of the State of Missouri during the period 1954 to 1964.

The questionnaire was designed and the data were collected by the Missouri Commission on Human Rights and was analyzed by the Department of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri, under grants from the Kansas City Association of Trust and Foundations, and the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Introduction

The Supreme Court decision in 1954 concerning the desegregation of public education opened the most significant period in the history of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. In the more than ten years which have followed, the majority of school systems in Missouri and in the rest of the country have achieved at least token student integration.

Due to this integration, most areas in which two school systems, one black and one white, were previously maintained, the Negro schools have been closed and the students presumably have been integrated into the formerly all-white school system. This integration has raised many questions, one of the major ones being: What has happened to the Negro teachers? Have they been integrated into the white school system or have they been eliminated along with the positions they formerly held?

These are the questions with which the project was primarily concerned. The major purpose of the project was to examine the changes between 1954 and 1964 in the number of Negro school teachers. An attempt was also made to provide information concerning the changes in the number of Negro students. Another secondary aim of the questionnaire was to determine attitudes of various significant groups in the community towards Negro teachers and also the attitude of white students towards being taught by Negro teachers. The various groups with which we were concerned were parents, other teachers, the school board, and the community as a whole.

Negroes in the State

Because of the uneven distribution of the Negro population in the state, a much more meaningful analysis can be made by breaking the state into four areas. The majority of the Negro population is centered in three areas--the two major metropolitan centers, Kansas City and St. Louis, and Southeast Missouri. Southeast Missouri is the only rural area containing a large group of Negroes. This area is an extension of the Mississippi Delta cotton culture and, as such, its racial situation is similar to that found in the southern states. While there are a few Negroes in and around the smaller cities in central Missouri and the cities in the rest of the state, there are almost none in the majority of the non-metropolitan (outstate) counties other than in Southeast Missouri. Thus, the following presentation includes a discussion of the total situation and then a more detailed discussion for each of the four areas: Kansas

City (Jackson County), St. Louis (including St. Louis County), Southeast Missouri, and Outstate Missouri.

The Sample

Over 500 school systems representing more than 90% of the students in the state were surveyed. The majority of the school systems replied, which resulted in 450 usable questionnaires. Because the questionnaires were mailed from the Missouri Commission on Human Rights, considerable suspicion and antagonism was noted in many of the replies to the questions which were directed to the superintendents. It was only after considerable correspondence with some superintendents, especially in Southeast Missouri, that completed questionnaires were returned. On some questionnaires, whole sections of questions were left unanswered, raising the question of the validity of the answers received. However, if these limitations are kept in mind, a meaningful analysis can be made; for even though specific items are inexact, the general trends which emerge should be valid.

The primary unit of analysis used in this report is the school system rather than individual schools. It was felt that this was the appropriate unit of analysis since the administrative policies of a system usually apply to all of the schools in the system. Thus the policies for hiring or firing of teachers and segregation or desegregation of students are made at the level of the school system.

THE RESULTS

General Information

There were no Negro students in two-thirds of the school systems within the state during the 1963-1964 school year. In an additional 9 percent of the systems there were fewer than 10 Negro students. There were no Negro teachers in 87 percent of the school systems during the school year 1963-64. This is about 21 percent higher than the schools having no Negro students. In an additional 8 percent of the school systems, there were less than 6 Negro teachers. The total systems having five Negro teachers or less was found to be 95 percent. Thus the conclusion that discrimination is higher against Negro teachers than against Negro students would seem to be valid. This, of course, was affected by the fact that the hiring of Negro teachers was on a voluntary basis, whereas the inclusion of Negro students within the boundaries of a particular school system was considerably less voluntary.

Of a total of 24,652 teachers reported in the survey, only 448, or 1.8 percent, were Negroes. This is much less than the total proportion of Negroes in the Missouri population, which is about 10 percent, and also less than the proportion of Negro students in the state, which is almost 12 percent. This low proportion may result from either the attitudes of the community or the unavailability of qualified Negro teachers.

The ratio of Negro students to teachers was examined and only in the urban areas was the proportion of Negro students and teachers at all similar. In all of the outstate areas,

including Southeast Missouri, the proportion of Negro students was considerably higher than the proportion of Negro teachers. This ratio ran from no Negro teachers in schools having relatively small percentage of Negro students (0-0) to a 7-1 ratio, that is, seven times the percentage of Negro to white students than the percentage of Negro to white teachers.

Changes in Numbers of Negro Teachers

The vast majority of school systems had no Negro teachers. 82 percent of the school systems reported the same number of Negro teachers in 1964 as in 1954. A small proportion of them reported decreases and increases. Only four percent of the school systems reported an increase in the number of Negro teachers while 14 percent had a decrease. Of those recording a decrease, the reasons given for the decline were as follows:

(1) School policy not to use Negro teachers in white or integrated schools, (8 percent)

(2) Retirement because of age, (11.3 percent)

(3) Inadequate qualifications, (21.0 percent)

(4) Transfer to other school districts, (29.0 percent)

(5) Other--including integration. (46.8 percent)

A similar picture was presented when the types of schools were examined, i.e., elementary, junior and senior high schools. The same proportion existed for the increases or decreases in each of the three categories as for the total.

The school systems which had desegregated their student bodies were more likely to report a decrease in the number of Negro teachers than those that were not. Conversely, those

who continued to maintain all Negro schools reported an increase in the number of Negro teachers. Thus the conclusion can be drawn from these data that desegregation of schools tends to inhibit the hiring of Negro teachers.

Attitudes Towards Negro Teachers

The increase or decrease in numbers of Negro teachers hired was examined as related to the attitudes of the teachers, students, and parents towards Negro teachers. In those school systems which had a decrease in the number of Negro teachers, the attitudes were less favorable than in those which had an increase. However, it should be noted that the students in systems which reported the same number of Negro teachers (the majority of them had no Negro teachers) tended to have a similar attitude or in some cases, more unfavorable than those in the school systems having a declining number of Negro teachers.

In these questions, as in many others, the school systems with the declining numbers of Negro teachers tended to be more reluctant to respond, thus indicating that they felt some pressure.

The same pattern of response was found in the attitudes of the school board members. The similarity of responses for the various groups within one school system indicated that the respondents were giving a set series of responses, that is, the pattern for the students, teachers, school board members, parents and community tended to be the same. When different attitudes were reported however, the students and teachers were perceived as having much more tolerant views towards Negro teachers than the parents, the school board, or the community.

In an attempt to further delineate for the basis of analysis the attitude of various groups within the community, the outstate group was broken down into three sections, the northeast, northwest, and southwest Missouri. However, regional division did not seem to make any difference; the prejudice against the hiring of Negro teachers remained. Therefore, the generalization can be made that regardless of the outstate area, a considerable amount of prejudice exists in all outstate groups against the hiring of Negro teachers. Only in the urban areas was there a significant amount of favorable or "same as white teacher" response. There was comparatively little unfavorable or overt hostility in these urban areas.

Negro Teachers Under White Principals or Vice Versa

The relatively negative attitude toward the Negro teachers was also reflected by the fact that there were almost no white teachers in the state employed under Negro principals. Only five, or about 1 percent, of the school systems in the state had this arrangement. This percent was about evenly distributed among school systems which had an increase and those having a decrease in number of Negro teachers. The reverse of this situation, that is, Negro teachers under white principals, was much more common. However, even this only occurred in about 13 percent of the school systems. In the vast majority of systems there were no whites employed under Negro principals nor were there Negroes employed under white principals. This, of course, is due to the fact that Negroes are not being hired in the majority of systems.

In the school systems reporting an increase, one-half the systems indicated that Negro teachers were under white principals. In those systems having a decrease, the ratio was much lower, that is, only about one-fifth of the schools reported having Negroes under white principals.

Attitudes Towards Negroes Teaching White Students

In the average school system in this study, the students attitude towards Negro teachers would be characterized best as being unfavorable but not overtly hostile towards Negro teachers teaching white students. More of the systems reported students' attitudes to be favorable rather than to be overtly hostile. This unfavorableness was not related to the degree of school desegregation. However, of those 51 systems which were not desegregated, there was considerably more unfavorableness and overt hostility reported towards Negroes teaching whites.

In general it was felt that the parents' attitudes were more unfavorable towards Negro teachers than those of the students. Thirty-five percent of the systems reported that parents in their community were unfavorable towards Negro teachers. An even greater prejudice was found in schools which were not integrated, and 24 percent of the school systems reported that the parents were overtly hostile towards the Negro teachers. The same pattern was found for the members of school boards, About one-third of the school boards were unfavorable to Negro teachers, while of those boards of schools which were segregated, one-half were unfavorable and an additional 10 percent were overtly hostile to Negro teachers. Only 10 percent of the school

systems had school boards which were favorable towards Negro teachers teaching white students.

Of these four groups, students, other teachers, school boards and parents, the teachers were the most favorable to Negroes teaching whites. Only 20 percent as compared to the one-third or more of the parents and school board members were unfavorable towards Negroes teaching white students.

The Results By Areas of the State

As discussed in the introduction, the school systems in the state were divided into four major areas, which were Southeast Missouri, Kansas City and Jackson County, St. Louis City and County, and the remainder of the state. When the change in the number of Negro teachers between 1954 and 1964 was examined according to these areas, a distinctive difference was found.

Southeast Missouri. The majority of schools which gave any response reported that the number of Negro teachers had remained the same. In only 2 of the 24 systems in Southeast Missouri had there been a decrease in the number of Negro teachers between 1954 and 1964. Twenty-nine percent of the schools reported an increase. This increase may reflect the continued maintenance of all-Negro, or almost all-Negro, schools in these districts. In regard to the question asking whether or not their school system was segregated, nine answered "yes" and nine, "no." This means that 50% of the school systems in Southeast Missouri are defying the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The attitudes of all groups with which we were concerned were also more likely to be hostile or unfavorable in Southeast Missouri.

Kansas City and St. Louis. Only in the St. Louis area have the number of school systems with Negro teachers increased substantially. In Kansas City, all systems reported the same number of Negro teachers. It was only in these two urban areas that attitudes towards Negro teachers were found to be generally the same as white teachers or favorable. These areas reflected the more tolerant attitudes which are often thought to characterize urban life.

Outstate Missouri. The remainder of the state presented the most extreme or negative picture. Only five school systems reported an increase in the number of Negro teachers. Over ten times as many reported a decrease. The largest proportion reported the same, which in most cases meant no Negroes hired at all. The attitudes towards Negroes teaching whites in this area ranged from "same as white teacher" to "overt hostility" with no clear pattern emerging.

Summary

Based upon the results of the information collected from the questionnaires, the following conclusions were drawn:

(1) There has been a decrease in the proportion of Missouri school systems hiring Negro teachers from 1954 to 1964.

(2) This decrease has been predominantly in the rural areas of the state. It is suggested that this decrease has resulted primarily from the closing of Negro schools as a result of the 1954 Supreme Court decision which ordered the integration of all school systems.

(3) The majority of the people who are concerned, that is, parents, school board members, and the general community, have an unfavorable attitude toward the hiring of Negro teachers, although teachers and students express somewhat more tolerant attitudes. This unfavorable attitude will probably handicap the hiring of any additional Negro teachers unless considerable pressure is brought to bear by some outside agency.

(4) In the majority of outstate school systems which do not have Negro students, relevant officials do not conceive of any need or reason to consider qualified Negro teachers.

(5) One of the principal reasons given for the decrease was what might be called "normal attrition reasons"; that is, the school was closed and there was no reason for additional teachers, the Negro teachers retired because of old age or moved away, and when replacements were hired, they were white.

(6) Only in St. Louis has there been a notable increase in the hiring of Negro teachers.

(7) Desegregation of the school systems led to a decrease in the number of Negro teachers.

STATUTORY APPENDIX: JURISDICTION AND GENERAL BACKGROUND

The Missouri Commission on Human Rights was created by the legislature in 1957 and given power (RSMO 1959, sec. 213.030):

> "To conduct research projects or make studies into and publish reports on discrimination in Missouri."

In 1961, Missouri General Assembly passed the Missouri Fair Employment Practices Act which charges the Commission (RSMA 1963, sec. 296.030) with "the following functions, powers, and duties:

> "(3) To make recommendations to agencies or offices of State or local sub-divisions of Government. . . .
>
> "(9) To issue publications and the results of studies and research which will tend to promote good will and minimize or eliminate discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. . . ."

This Fair Employment Practices Act makes it illegal for any employer to discriminate because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, and defines employer to include "the state, or any political or civil sub-division thereof," which clearly includes public school districts supported by tax funds. In early 1964 this Commission received a number of allegations that Missouri school districts were not in compliance with that statute in their hiring and assignment of teachers. Many of these complaints were from individual Negroes who felt that they had suffered discrimination but who chose not to file a specific complaint under the Fair Employment Practices Act; some were

from Negro groups and simply alleged a discriminatory pattern or practice; and some were from private employers who objected to having the law applied to them but not applied to tax supported agencies of government. At its regular quarterly meeting of March 13, 1964, the Commission voted to conduct a detailed survey of teacher hiring and assignment practices of Missouri School Districts and instructed the Executive Director and staff to prepare and circulate an appropriate questionnaire.

Appendix Pages

Negro Teachers Hired Since 1954 in All Schools

Negroes Hired Since 1954	All Schools In System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	26.5	267	59.4	51	11.3	12	2.67
No response to question	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Increase	20	100	0	0	13	65.0	5	25.0	2	10.0
Decrease	61	100	0	0	59	96.7	1	1.6	1	1.6
Same	368	100	119	32.3	195	53	45	12.2	9	2.44

Negro Teachers Hired Since 1954 in Senior High Schools

Negroes Hired Since 1954	Senior High Schools In System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to question	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	26.5	279	62.1	42	9.3	9	2.0
No response to question	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Increase	20	100	0	0	16	80.0	3	15.0	1	5.0
Decrease	61	100	0	0	61	100	0	0	0	0
Same	368	100	119	32.3	202	54.9	39	10.6	8	2.2

Negro Teachers Hired Since 1954 in Junior High Schools

Negroes Hired Since 1954	Junior High Schools In System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to question	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	26.5	275	61.2	46	10.2	9	2.0
No response to question	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Increase	20	100	0	0	16	80.0	3	15.0	1	5.0
Decrease	61	100	0	0	60	98.4	0	0	1	1.6
Same	368	100	119	32.3	199	54.1	43	11.7	7	1.9

Negro Teachers Hired Since 1954 in Elementary Schools

Negroes Hired Since 1954	Elementary Schools In System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to question	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	26.5	269	59.9	53	11.8	8	1.8
No response to question	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Increase	20	100	0	0	13	65.0	5	25.0	2	10.0
Decrease	61	100	0	0	59	96.7	2	3.3	0	0
Same	368	100	119	32.3	197	53.5	46	12.5	6	1.6

Community's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers in All Schools

Community's Attitudes Toward Negro Teachers	Are All Schools in Your School System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	100	267	100	51	100	12	100
No response to question	18	4.0	11	9.2	6	2.2	1	2.0	0	0
Favorable	34	7.0	5	4.2	26	9.7	3	5.9	0	0
Same as white teacher	52	11.0	5	4.2	40	15.0	5	9.8	2	16.7
Unfavorable	170	37.0	44	37.0	97	36.3	26	51.0	0	0
Overt hostility	18	4.0	4	3.4	7	2.6	7	13.7	0	0
No response to item	157	34.0	50	42.0	91	34.1	9	17.6	7	58.3

School Board's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers in All Schools

School Board's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers	Are All Schools in Your School System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	100	267	100	51	100	12	100
No response to question	18	4.0	11	9.2	6	2.2	1	2.0	0	0
Favorable	49	10.0	7	5.9	36	13.5	5	9.8	1	8.3
Same as white teacher	84	18.0	15	12.6	57	21.3	8	15.7	4	33.3
Unfavorable	150	33.0	44	37.0	80	30.0	25	49.0	1	8.3
Overt hostility	9	2.0	0	0	4	1.5	5	9.8	0	0
No response to item	139	30.0	42	35.3	84	31.5	7	13.7	6	50.0

Teacher's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers in All Schools

Teacher's Attitudes Toward Negro Teachers	Are All Schools in Your School System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	100	267	100	51	100	12	100
No response to question	18	4.0	11	9.2	6	2.2	1	2.0	0	0
Favorable	68	15.0	16	13.4	43	16.1	9	17.6	0	0
Same as white teacher	129	28.0	22	18.5	88	33.0	15	29.4	4	33.3
Unfavorable	92	20.0	29	24.4	47	17.6	15	29.4	1	8.3
Overt hostility	6	1.0	0	0	1	0	5	9.8	0	0
No response to item	136	30.0	41	34.5	82	30.7	6	11.8	7	58.3

Parent's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers in All Schools

Parent's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers	Are All Schools in Your School System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	108	24.0	267	59.4	51	11.3	12	2.6
No response to question	18	100	11	61.1	6	33.3	1	5.6	0	0
Favorable	34	100	5	14.7	25	73.5	4	11.8	0	0
Same as white teacher	51	100	4	7.8	38	74.5	6	11.8	3	5.9
Unfavorable	159	100	45	28.3	91	57.2	21	13.2	2	1.3
Overt hostility	33	100	7	21.2	14	42.4	12	36.4	0	0
No response to item	154	100	47	30.5	93	60.4	7	4.5	7	4.5

Student's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers in All Schools

Student's Attitudes Toward Negro Teachers	Are All Schools in YOur Community Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	26.5	267	59.4	51	11.3	12	2.7
No response to question	18	100	11	61.1	6	33.3	1	5.6	0	0
Favorable	61	100	11	18.0	44	72.1	6	9.8	0	0
Same as white teacher	96	100	18	18.8	66	68.8	8	8.3	4	4.2
Unfavorable	128	100	37	28.9	67	52.3	23	18.0	1	.8
Overt hostility	8	100	1	12.5	2	25.0	5	62.5	0	0
No response to item	138	100	41	29.7	82	59.4	8	5.8	7	5.1

White Teachers Employed Under Negro Principal Since 1954

Negroes Hired Since 1954	Are White Teachers Employed Under Negro Principal							
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	7	1.5	18	4.0	424	94.4
No response to question	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Increase	20	100	0	0	2	10.0	18	90.0
Decrease	61	100	1	1.6	2	3.3	58	95.1
Same	368	100	6	1.6	14	3.8	348	94.6

Negro Teachers Employed Under White Principal Since 1954

Negroes Hired Since 1954	Are Negro Teachers Employed Under White Principal							
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	11	2.4	46	10.2	392	87.3
No response to question	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Increase	20	100	0	0	10	50.0	10	50.0
Decrease	61	100	2	3.3	11	18.0	48	78.7
Same	368	100	9	2.4	25	6.8	334	90.8

Changes in Number of Negro Teachers by Attitudes

Toward Negro Teachers: Community's

Negroes Hired Since 1954	Community's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	18	4.	34	7.5	52	11.6	170	37.8	18	4.	157	34.9
No response to question	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Increase	20	100	0	0	4	20.0	6	30.0	2	10.0	0	0	8	40.0
Decrease	61	100	1	1.6	4	6.6	8	13.1	25	41.0	3	4.9	20	32.6
Same	368	100	17	4.6	26	7.1	38	10.3	143	38.9	15	4.1	129	35.1

Changes in Number of Negro Teachers by Attitudes

Toward Negro Teachers: School Board's

Negroes Hired Since 1954	School Board's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	18	4.	49	10.9	84	18.7	150	33.4	9	2.2	139	30.9
No response to question	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Increase	20	100	0	0	5	25.0	8	40.0	1	5.0	0	0	6	30.0
Decrease	61	100	1	1.6	8	13.1	14	23.0	22	36.1	1	1.6	15	24.6
Same	368	100	17	4.6	36	9.8	62	16.8	127	34.5	8	2.2	118	32.1

Changes in Number of Negro Teachers by Attitudes

Toward Negro Teachers: Teacher's

Negroes Hired Since 1954	Teacher's Attitude Towards Negro Teachers													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	18	4.	68	15.1	129	28.7	92	20.4	6	1.3	136	30.3
No response to question	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Increase	20	100	0	0	5	25.0	8	40.0	1	5.0	0	0	6	30.0
Decrease	61	100	1	1.6	11	18.0	23	37.7	8	13.1	1	1.6	17	27.9
Same	368	100	17	4.6	52	14.1	98	26.6	83	22.6	5	1.4	113	30.7

Changes in Number of Negro Teachers by Attitudes

Toward Negro Teachers: Parent's

Negroes Hired Since 1954	Parent's Attitude Towards Negro Teachers													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	18	4.	34	7.5	51	11.3	159	35.4	33	7.3	154	34.2
No response to question	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Increase	20	100	0	0	4	20.0	8	40.0	1	5.0	0	0	7	35.0
Decrease	61	100	1	1.6	5	8.2	6	9.8	25	41.0	5	8.2	19	31.1
Same	368	100	17	4.6	25	6.8	37	10.1	133	36.1	28	7.6	128	34.8

Changes in Number of Negro Teachers by Attitudes

Toward Negro Teachers: Student's

Negroes Hired Since 1954	Student's Attitude Towards Negro Teachers													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	18	4.	61	13.5	96	21.3	128	28.5	8	1.78	138	30.7
No response to question	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Increase	20	100	0	0	5	25.0	6	30.0	2	10.0	0	0	7	35.0
Decrease	61	100	1	1.6	12	19.7	15	24.6	15	24.6	1	1.6	17	27.9
Same	368	100	17	4.6	44	12.0	75	20.4	111	30.2	7	1.9	114	30.8

Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in All Schools

When were all of your schools desegregated?	What is the Community's Attitude Toward Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		34		52		170		18		157	
No response to question	121		11		5		6		44		5		50	
Doesn't apply	61		1		3		6		29		7		15	
Response not given	160		3		9		26		63		3		56	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1909	1		-		1		-		-		-		-	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		1		-		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		1		-		1		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		1		-		-		1	

(cont.)

Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in All Schools

When were all of your schools desegregated?	What is the Community's Attitude Toward Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	38		1		7		3		9		2		16	
1955	12		2		2		3		2		-		3	
1956	11		-		-		1		6		-		4	
1957	8		-		3		2		-		-		3	
1958	7		-		-		1		4		-		2	
1959	3		-		1		-		2		-		-	
1960	6		-		-		2		3		-		1	
1961														
1962	3		-		-		-		1		1		1	
1963	4		-		-		-		3		-		1	
1964	2		-		-		-		1		-		1	

School Board's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in All Schools

When were all of your schools desegregated?	What is the School Board's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		49		84		150		9		139	
No response to question	121		11		7		16		44		-		43	
Doesn't apply	61		1		6		11		26		5		12	
Response not given	160		3		16		31		51		3		56	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1909	1		-		1		-		-		-		-	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		1		-		1		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		2		-		-		-	

(cont.)

School Board's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in All Schools

When were all of your schools desegregated?	What is the School Board's Attitude Toward Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	38		1		10		5		9		-		13	
1955	12		2		2		5		2		-		1	
1956	11		-		-		1		6		-		4	
1957	8		-		4		2		-		-		2	
1958	7		-		-		2		3		-		2	
1959	3		-		1		-		2		-		-	
1960	6		-		-		3		2		-		1	
1961														
1962	3		-		-		2		-		1		-	
1963	4		-		-		2		1		-		1	
1964	2		-		-		-		1		-		1	

Teacher's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in All Schools

When were all of your schools desegregated?	What is the Teacher's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		68		129		92		6		136	
No response to question	121		11		16		24		29		-		41	
Doesn't apply	61		1		9		18		16		5		12	
Response not given	160		3		19		52		30		1		55	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1909	1		-		1		-		-		-		-	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		2		-		-		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		2		-		-		-	

(cont.)

Teacher's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in All Schools

When were all of your schools desegregated?	What is the Teacher's Attitudes Toward Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	38		1		10		8		6		-		13	
1955	12		2		2		6		-		-		2	
1956	11		-		2		3		3		-		3	
1957	8		-		4		2		-		-		2	
1958	7		-		1		4		-		-		2	
1959	3		-		1		-		2		-		-	
1960	6		-		-		4		1		-		1	
1961														
1962	3		-		-		2		1		-		-	
1963	4		-		-		1		2		-		1	
1964	2		-		-		-		1		-		1	

Parent's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in All Schools

When were all of your schools desegregated?	What is the Parent's Attitude Toward Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		34		51		159		33		154	
No response to question	121		11		5		5		45		8		47	
Doesn't apply	61		1		4		8		23		12		13	
Response not given	160		3		9		24		59		7		58	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1909	1		-		1		-		-		-		-	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		1		-		1		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		1		-		-		1	

(cont.)

Parent's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in All Schools

When were all of your schools desegregated?	What is the Parent's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	38		1		7		3		9		2		16	
1955	12		2		2		2		2		1		3	
1956	11		-		-		1		6		-		4	
1957	8		-		3		2		-		-		3	
1958	7		-		-		1		4		-		2	
1959	3		-		1		-		1		1		-	
1960	6		-		-		2		3		-		1	
1961														
1962	3		-		-		-		-		2		1	
1963	4		-		-		-		3		-		1	
1964	2		-		-		-		1		-		1	

Student's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in All Schools

When were all of your schools desegregated?	What is the Student's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		61		96		128		8		138	
No response to question	121		11		11		19		38		1		41	
Doesn't apply	61		1		6		11		24		5		14	
Response not given	160		3		21		38		45		1		52	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1909	1		-		1		-		-		-		-	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		2		-		-		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		2		-		-		-	

(cont.)

Student's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in All Schools

When were all of your schools desegregated?	What is the Student's Attitudes Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	38		1		9		5		9		-		14	
1955	12		2		2		3		1		-		4	
1956	11		-		2		4		2		-		3	
1957	8		-		5		2		-		-		1	
1958	7		-		-		4		1		-		2	
1959	3		-		1		1		1		-		-	
1960	6		-		-		4		1		-		1	
1961														
1962	3		-		-		-		1		1		1	
1963	4		-		-		1		2		-		1	
1964	2		-		-		-		1		-		1	

Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Jr. High Schools

When were your jr. high schools desegregated?	What is the Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		34		52		170		18		157	
No response to question	120		11		5		5		44		5		50	
Doesn't apply	54		1		2		6		27		7		11	
Response not given	149		3		8		21		63		3		51	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		1		-		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		1		-		1		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		1		-		-		1	

(cont.)

Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Jr. High Schools

When were your jr. high schools desegregated?	What is the Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	43		1		8		4		9		2		19	
1955	19		2		3		6		2		-		6	
1956	14		-		-		3		8		-		3	
1957	10		-		3		3		1		-		3	
1958	6		-		-		1		4		-		1	
1959	6		-		2		-		2		-		2	
1960	5		-		-		1		3		-		1	
1961	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1962	2		-		-		-		-		1		1	
1963	4		-		-		-		2		-		2	
1964	4		-		-		-		1		-		3	

School Board's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Jr. High Schools

When were your jr. high schools desegregated?	What is the School Board's Attitude Towards Negroes teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		49		84		150		9		139	
No response to question	120		11		7		15		44		-		43	
Doesn't apply	54		1		5		8		26		5		9	
Response not given	149		3		13		26		52		3		52	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		1		-		1		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		2		-		-		-	

(cont.)

School Board's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Jr. High Schools

When were your jr. high schools desegregated?	What is the School Board's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	43		1		11		7		9		-		15	
1955	19		2		4		9		1		-		3	
1956	14		-		1		4		6		-		3	
1957	10		-		4		3		1		-		2	
1958	6		-		-		2		3		-		1	
1959	6		-		2		-		2		-		2	
1960	5		-		-		3		1		-		1	
1961	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1962	2		-		-		1		-		1		-	
1963	4		-		-		2		-		-		2	
1964	4		-		-		-		1		-		3	

Parent's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Jr. High Schools

When were your jr. high schools desegregated?	What is the Parent's Attitude Toward Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		34		51		159		33		154	
No response to question	120		11		5		4		45		8		47	
Doesn't apply	54		1		3		7		21		12		10	
Response not given	149		3		7		20		58		7		54	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		1		-		1		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		1		-		-		1	

(cont.)

Parent's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Jr. High Schools

When were your jr. high schools desegregated?	What is the Parent's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	43		1		9		4		9		2		18	
1955	19		2		3		5		2		2		5	
1956	14		-		-		3		8		-		3	
1957	10		-		3		3		1		-		3	
1958	6		-		-		1		4		-		1	
1959	6		-		2		-		1		1		2	
1960	5		-		-		1		3		-		1	
1961	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1962	2		-		-		-		-		1		1	
1963	4		-		-		-		2		-		2	
1964	4		-		-		-		1		-		3	

Student's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Jr. High Schools

When were your junior high schools desegregated?	What is the Student's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		61		96		128		8		138	
No response to question	120		11		11		18		38		1		41	
Doesn't apply	54		1		5		10		22		5		11	
Response not given	149		3		16		34		46		1		49	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		2		-		-		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		1		1		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		2		-		-		-	

(cont.)

Student's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Jr. High Schools

When were your junior high schools desegregated?	What is the Student's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	43		1		11		6		9		-		16	
1955	19		2		5		6		2		-		4	
1956	14		-		3		6		3		-		2	
1957	10		-		5		3		-		-		2	
1958	6		-		-		4		1		-		1	
1959	6		-		2		1		1		-		2	
1960	5		-		-		2		2		-		1	
1961	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1962	2		-		-		-		-		1		1	
1963	4		-		-		1		1		-		2	
1964	4		-		-		-		1		-		3	

Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Elementary Schools

When were your elementary schools desegregated?	What is the Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		34		52		170		18		157	
No response to question	120		11		5		5		44		5		50	
Doesn't apply	60		1		3		7		29		7		13	
Response not given	148		3		8		21		61		3		52	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		1		-		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		1		-		1		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		1		-		-		1	

(cont.)

Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Elementary Schools

When were your elementary schools desegregated?	What is the Community's Attitude Twoards Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	39		1		7		4		9		2		16	
1955	17		2		2		5		1		-		7	
1956	11		-		-		2		6		-		3	
1957	9		-		3		2		1		-		3	
1958	9		-		-		2		4		-		3	
1959	6		-		2		-		3		-		1	
1960	6		-		-		2		3		-		1	
1961	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1962	3		-		-		-		1		1		1	
1963	6		-		1		-		3		-		2	
1964	2		-		-		-		1		-		1	

School Board's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Elementary Schools

When were your elementary schools desegregated?	What is the School Board's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		49		84		150		9		139	
No response to question	120		11		7		15		44		-		43	
Doesn't apply	60		1		5		12		26		5		11	
Response not given	148		3		14		26		50		3		52	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		1		-		1		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		2		-		-		-	

(cont.)

School Board's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Elementary Schools

When were your elementary schools desegregated?	What is the School Board's Attitude Towars Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	39		1		10		6		9		-		13	
1955	17		2		3		6		1		-		5	
1956	11		-		-		2		6		-		3	
1957	9		-		4		2		1		-		2	
1958	9		-		1		3		3		-		2	
1959	6		-		2		1		2		-		1	
1960	6		-		-		3		2		-		1	
1961	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1962	3		-		-		2		-		1		-	
1963	6		-		1		2		1		-		2	
1964	2		-		-		-		1		-		1	

Teacher's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Elementary Schools

When were your elementary schools desegregated?	What is the Teacher's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		68		129		92		6		136	
No response to question	120		11		16		23		29		-		41	
Doesn't apply	60		1		9		19		16		5		10	
Response not given	148		3		17		46		30		1		51	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		2		-		-		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		2		-		-		-	

(cont.)

Teacher's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Elementary Schools

When were your elementary schools desegregated?	What is the Teacher's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	39		1		10		9		6		-		13	
1955	17		2		2		7		-		-		6	
1956	11		-		3		3		3		-		2	
1957	9		-		4		3		-		-		2	
1958	9		-		1		5		-		-		3	
1959	6		-		2		1		2		1		1	
1960	6		-		-		4		1		-		1	
1961	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1962	3		-		-		2		1		-		-	
1963	6		-		1		1		2		-		2	
1964	2		-		-		-		1		-		1	

Parent's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Elementary Schools

When were your elementary schools desegregated?	What is the Parent's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		34		51		159		33		154	
No response to question	120		11		5		4		45		8		47	
Doesn't apply	60		1		4		9		23		12		11	
Response not given	148		3		7		20		56		7		55	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		1		-		1		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		1		-		-		1	

(cont.)

Parent's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Elementary Schools

When were your elementary schools desegregated?	What is the Parent's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	39		1		7		4		9		2		16	
1955	17		2		2		4		2		1		6	
1956	11		-		1		1		6		-		3	
1957	9		-		3		2		1		-		3	
1958	9		-		-		2		4		-		3	
1959	6		-		2		-		2		1		1	
1960	6		-		-		-		3		-		1	
1961	1		-		-		2		1		-		-	
1962	3		-		-		-		-		2		1	
1963	6		-		1		-		3		-		2	
1964	2		-		-		-		1		-		1	

Student's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Elementary Schools

When were your elementary schools desegregated?	What is the Student's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?													
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449		18		61		96		128		8		138	
No response to question	120		11		11		18		38		1		41	
Doesn't apply	60		1		6		12		24		5		12	
Response not given	148		3		17		34		44		1		49	
1903	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1942	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1946	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1947	1		-		-		-		-		-		1	
1950	2		-		2		-		-		-		-	
1951	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	
1952	2		-		-		2		-		-		-	

(cont.)

Student's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching in Elementary Schools

When were your elementary schools desegregated?	What is the Student's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students?											
	Total		No response to question		Favorable		Same as white teacher		Unfavorable		Overt hostility		No response to item	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1953	3		-		1		1		-		-		1	
1954	39		1		9		6		9		-		14	
1955	17		2		4		4		1		-		6	
1956	11		-		3		4		2		-		2	
1957	9		-		5		2		-		-		2	
1958	9		-		-		5		1		-		3	
1959	6		-		2		2		1		-		1	
1960	6		-		-		3		2		-		1	
1961	1		-		-		1		-		-		-	
1962	3		-		-		-		1		1		1	
1963	6		-		1		1		2		-		2	
1964	2		-		-		-		1		-		1	

Parent's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers in Senior High Schools

Parent's Attitude Toward Negro Teacher	Are Senior High Schools in Your School System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	26.5	279	62.1	42	9.3	9	2.0
No response to question	18	100	11	61.1	6	33.3	1	5.6	0	0
Favorable	34	100	5	14.7	26	76.5	3	8.8	0	0
Same as white teacher	51	100	4	7.8	41	80.4	4	7.8	2	3.9
Unfavorable	159	100	45	28.3	96	60.4	17	10.7	1	.6
Overt hostility	33	100	7	21.2	14	42.4	12	36.4	0	0
No response to item	154	100	47	30.5	96	62.3	5	3.2	6	3.9

Parent's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers in Junior High Schools

Parent's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers	Are Junior High Schools in Your School System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	26.5	275	61.2	46	10.2	9	2.0
No response to question	18	100	11	61.1	6	33.3	1	5.6	0	0
Favorable	34	100	5	14.7	26	76.5	3	8.8	0	0
Same as white teacher	51	100	4	7.8	40	78.4	5	9.8	2	3.9
Unfavorable	159	100	45	28.3	93	58.5	19	11.9	2	1.3
Overt hostility	33	100	7	21.2	14	42.4	12	36.4	0	0
No response to item	154	100	47	30.5	96	62.3	6	3.9	5	3.2

Student's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers in Junior High Schools

Student's Attitudes Toward Negro Teachers	Are Junior High Schools in Your School System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	26.5	275	61.2	46	10.2	9	2
No response to question	18	100	11	61.1	6	33.3	1	5.6	0	0
Favorable	61	100	11	18.0	45	73.8	5	8.2	0	0
Same as white teacher	96	100	18	18.8	68	70.8	7	7.3	3	3.1
Unfavorable	128	100	37	28.9	69	53.9	21	16.4	1	0
Overt hostility	8	100	1	12.5	2	25.0	5	62.5	0	0
No response to item	138	100	41	29.7	85	61.6	7	5.1	5	3.6

Teacher's Attitude Towards Negro Teachers in Elementary Schools

Teacher's Attitudes Toward Negro Teachers	Are Elementary Schools in Your School System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	499	100	119	100	269	100	53	100	8	100
No response to question	18	4.0	11	9.2	6	2.2	1	1.9	0	0
Favorable	68	15.0	16	13.4	43	16.0	9	17.0	0	0
Same as white teacher	129	28.0	22	18.5	88	32.7	16	30.2	3	37.5
Unfavorable	92	20.0	29	24.4	47	17.5	16	30.2	0	0
Overt hostility	6	1.0	0	0	1	.4	5	9.4	0	0
No response to item	136	30.0	41	34.5	84	31.2	6	11.3	5	62.5

Parent's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers in Elementary Schools

Parent's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers	Are Elementary Schools in Your School System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119		269		53		8	
No response to question	18	100	11	61.1	6	33.3	1	5.6	0	0
Favorable	34	100	5	14.7	25	73.5	4	11.8	0	0
Same as white teacher	51	100	4	7.8	38	74.5	7	13.7	2	3.9
Unfavorable	159	100	45	28.3	91	57.2	22	13.8	1	.6
Overt hostility	33	100	7	21.2	14	42.4	12	36.4	0	0
No response to item	154	100	47	30.5	95	61.7	7	4.5	5	3.2

Student's Attitude Toward Negro Teachers in Elementary Schools

Student's Attitudes Toward Negro Teachers	Are Elementary Schools in Your School System Desegregated									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	26.5	269	60	53	11.8	8	1.78
No response to question	18	100	11	61.1	6	33.3	1	5.6	0	0
Favorable	61	100	11	18.0	44	72.1	6	9.8	0	0
Same as white teacher	96	100	18	18.8	66	68.8	9	9.4	3	3.1
Unfavorable	128	100	37	28.9	67	52.3	24	18.8	0	0
Overt hostility	8	100	1	12.5	2	25.0	5	62.5	0	0
No response to item	138	100	41	29.7	84	60.9	8	5.8	5	3.6

Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students in Sr. High Schools

Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students	Are Senior High Schools In Your School System Desegregated?									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	100	279	100	42	100	9	100
No response to question	18	4.0	11	9.2	6	2.2	1	2.4	0	0
Favorable	34	7.0	5	4.2	27	9.7	2	4.8	0	0
Same as white teacher	52	11.0	5	4.2	42	15.1	4	9.5	1	11.1
Unfavorable	170	37.0	44	37.0	102	36.6	22	52.4	2	22.2
Overt hostility	18	4.0	4	3.4	7	2.5	7	16.7	0	0
No response to item	157	34.0	50	42.0	95	34.1	6	14.3	6	66.7

School Board's Attitude Toward Negroes Teaching White Students in Sr. High Schools

School Board's Attitude Toward Negroes Teaching White Students	Are Sr. High Schools in Your School System Desegregated?									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	100	279	100	42	100	9	100
No response to question	18	4.0	11	9.2	6	2.2	1	2.4	0	0
Favorable	49	10.0	7	5.9	37	13.3	4	9.5	1	11.1
Same as white teacher	84	18.0	15	12.6	62	22.2	4	9.5	3	33.3
Unfavorable	150	33.0	44	37.0	83	29.7	23	54.8	0	0
Overt hostility	9	2.0	0	0	4	1.4	5	11.9	0	0
No response to item	139	30.0	42	35.3	87	31.2	5	11.9	5	55.6

Teachers' Attitudes Towards Negroes Teaching White Students in Sr. High Schools

Teachers' Attitudes Towards Negroes Teaching White Students	Are Sr. High Schools in Your School System Desegregated?									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	100	279	100	42	100	9	100
No response to question	18	4.0	11	9.2	6	2.2	1	2.4	0	0
Favorable	68	15.0	16	13.4	45	16.1	7	16.7	0	0
Same as white teacher	129	28.0	22	18.5	92	33.0	12	28.6	3	33.3
Unfavorable	92	20.0	29	24.4	50	17.9	13	31.0	0	0
Overt hostility	6	1.0	0	0	1	.4	5	11.9	0	0
No response to item	136	30.0	41	34.5	85	30.5	4	9.5	6	66.7

Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students in Jr. High Schools

Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students	Are Junior High Schools in Your School System Desegregated?									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	100	275	100	46	100	9	100
No response to question	18	4.0	11	9.2	6	2.2	1	2.2	0	0
Favorable	34	7.0	5	4.2	27	9.8	2	4.3	0	0
Same as white teacher	52	11.0	5	4.2	41	14.9	5	10.9	1	11.1
Unfavorable	170	37.0	44	37.0	99	36.0	24	52.2	3	33.3
Overt hostility	18	4.0	4	3.4	7	2.5	7	15.2	0	0
No response to item	157	34.0	50	42.0	95	34.5	7	15.2	5	55.6

School Board's Attitude Toward Negroes Teaching White Students in Jr. High Schools

School Board's Attitude Toward Negroes Teaching White Students	Are Jr. High Schools in Your School System Desegregated?									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	100	275	100	46	100	9	100
No response to question	18	4.0	11	9.2	6	2.2	1	2.2	0	0
Favorable	49	10.0	7	5.9	37	13.5	4	8.7	1	11.1
Same as white teacher	84	18.0	15	12.6	61	22.2	5	10.9	3	33.3
Unfavorable	150	33.0	44	37.0	80	29.1	25	54.3	1	11.1
Overt hostility	9	2.0	0	0	4	1.5	5	10.9	0	0
No response to item	139	30.0	42	35.3	87	31.6	6	13.0	4	55.6

Teachers' Attitudes Towards Negroes Teaching White Students in Jr. High Schools

Teachers' Attitudes Towards Negroes Teaching White Students	Are Jr. High Schools in Your School System Desegregated?									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	100	275	100	46	100	9	100
No response to question	18	4.0	11	9.2	6	2.2	1	2.2	0	0
Favorable	68	15.0	16	13.4	44	16.0	8	17.4	0	0
Same as white teacher	29	28.0	22	18.5	91	33.1	13	28.3	3	33.3
Unfavorable	92	20.0	29	24.4	48	17.5	14	30.4	1	11.1
Overt hostility	6	1.0	0	0	1	.4	5	10.9	0	0
No response to item	136	30.0	41	34.5	85	30.9	5	10.9	5	55.6

Community's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students in Elementary Schools

Community's Attitude Toward Negroes Teaching White Students	Are Elementary Schools in Your School System Desegregated?									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	100	269	100	53	100	8	100
No response to question	18	4.0	11	9.2	6	2.2	1	1.9	0	0
Favorable	34	7.0	5	4.2	26	9.7	3	5.7	0	0
Same as white teacher	52	11.0	5	4.2	40	14.9	6	11.3	1	12.5
Unfavorable	170	37.0	44	37.0	97	36.1	27	50.9	2	25.0
Overt hostility	18	4.0	4	3.4	7	2.6	7	13.2	0	0
No response to item	157	34.0	50	42	93	34.6	9	17.0	5	62.5

School Board's Attitude Toward Negroes Teaching White Students in Elementary Schools

School Board's Attitude Towards Negroes Teaching White Students	Are Elementary Schools in Your School System Desegregated?									
	Total		No response to question		Yes		No		No response to category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	449	100	119	100	269	100	53	100	8	100
No response to question	18	4.0	11	9.2	6	2.2	1	2.0	0	0
Favorable	49	10.0	7	5.9	37	13.8	5	9.8	0	0
Same as white teacher	84	18.0	15	12.6	57	21.2	9	17.6	3	37.5
Unfavorable	150	33.0	44	37.0	80	29.7	26	49.1	0	0
Overt hostility	9	2.0	0	0	4	1.5	5	9.8	0	0
No response to item	139	30.0	42	35.3	85	31.6	7	13.2	5	62.5